THRACE (THRAKĒ)

The Thracian tribes failed to achieve any unity until the rise of Odrysian power at the start of the 5th century BC, under Tērēs I, who may have exploited Persian intervention and lived to the age of 92. But while powerful kings like Sitalkēs and Kotys I managed to dominate the tribes and to carry out an aggressive policy towards Macedon and the Greek colonies on the seacoast, the potential for tribal disunity and multiple or rival kingship remained. On the death of Kotys I in 360, Thrace was divided among three kings, who were all subjugated by Philippos II of Macedon by 341. Nevertheless, Thracian kingship was not eliminated completely, and Seuthēs III repeatedly challenged the authority of Alexandros III and of his generals and successors, including Lysimakhos, who, like his Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Antigonid successors controlled the southern and eastern coasts of Thrace from Lysimakheia near the Hellespont. The native Thracian rulers seem to have retained autonomy or independence in the interior regions to the north and west, where Seuthēs III imitated Hellenistic monarchs by founding a regularly planned city and naming it after himself (Seuthopolis). While much of Thrace effectively escaped Macedonian control at this time, Seuthēs' death was followed by another period of disunity and the invasion of the Gauls, who set up their own small kingdom at Tylis (location unknown) on Thracian territory. Seuthopolis was damaged and abandoned (possibly due to attack by Antiokhos II in the mid-3rd century), and both the coinage and international relations of the chief Thracian rulers experienced a marked recession. As a result, the identity, sequence, and relations of Thracian rulers during this period are very poorly known, and Thracian political history becomes only a little better-illuminated during the period of Rome's wars with Macedon during the first half of the 2nd century. By 100, in addition to the possibly senior Odrysian and/or Astaean line of kings in the north and east (by this time centered on Bizyē), a line of Sapaean dynasts ruled in the south and west. Probably dispossessing the last Astaean king for his support of Antonius at Actium in 31 BC, the Roman emperor Augustus conferred all of Thrace on the Sapaean king Roimētalkēs I. His son was murdered by his uncle, requiring imperial intervention in the succession in AD 19. In 46, on the murder of Roimētalkēs III by his wife, the kingdom of Thrace was annexed as a province by the Roman emperor Claudius I.

The list below (which is not exhaustive) includes the known Odrysian, Astaean, and Sapaean kings of Thrace; much of it is conjectural. The even more fragmentary picture of other tribal rulers is not included. The distinction between "Odrysian" and "Odrysian-Astaean" rulers is largely arbitrary, the survival of an Odryisan line is doubted, the relationships being frequently inferred from circumstantial considerations (chronology, geography, and onomastic patterns) and the new pieces of evidence that have come to light from recent archaeological work and continue to appear.[1] Names are presented in (Greek) standardized forms, and the numbering of the rulers (especially those named Kotys and Tērēs) varies in different works.

Odrysian kings of Thrace (Odrysai)

*c.*515–*c.*465	Tērēs I … ruler of the Odrysai; Persian vassal *c.*513?
*c.*465–<431	Sparatokos … son of Tērēs I
<431–424	Sitalkēs … son of Tērēs I
424–412<	Seuthēs I … son of Sparatokos
	Maisadēs … son of (?) Sparatokos; in eastern Thrace ?–<405

[1] For example, the alleged discovery of coins of Sitalkēs (who is thus probably not to be identified with Saratokos), of a king Seusas, possibly Seuthēs (distinct from Seuthēs III), son of a Tērēs, and the ascription of the Kazanlăk Tomb to Roigos (known from his coins), son of a Seuthēs (possibly Seuthēs III).

	Saratokos ... son of (?) Sitalkēs [2]; in western Thrace?
	Tērēs II ... son of (?) Sitalkēs [3]; in eastern Thrace ?–400<
<405–390<	Amatokos I (Mētokos) ... son of (?) Sitalkēs [4]
	Seuthēs II ... son of Maisadēs; in eastern Thrace <405?–387<
<386<	Hebryzelmis ... son of (?) Seuthēs I [5]
<384–360	Kotys I ... son of (?) Seuthēs I [6]
360–341	Kersobleptēs ... son of Kotys I; in eastern Thrace; deposed?
360–357	Bērisadēs ... son of (?) Bergaios, son of (?) Saratokos; in western Thrace
360–351	Amatokos II ... son of Amatokos I; in central Thrace
357–352	Ketriporis ... son of Bērisadēs; in western Thrace; deposed
351–341	Tērēs III ... son of Amatokos II [7]; in central Thrace; deposed?
341–?	(to Macedon?)
<331/330<	Kotys II ... son of Seuthēs, son of (?) Kotys I [8]; rebel against Macedonian rule
	(to the "Odrysian-Astaean" kings of Thrace?)
	"Odrysian-Astaean" kings of Thrace (Odrysai, Astai)
<324–312<	Seuthēs III ... son of (?) Tērēs III [9]; rebel against Macedonian rule
	Roigos (= Raizdos?) [10] ... son of Seuthēs (III?)

[2] Topalov 1998 makes cogent arguments for identifying Saratokos with the then numismatically unattested Sitalkēs, but coins of Sitalkēs have been reported since (albeit of unproven authenticity: Kojčev 2008); Tačeva 2006: 148-149 dates Saratokos to *c*.400–377<66.

[3] A contemporary of Maisadēs and Seuthēs II, and thus distinct from the earlier Tērēs I.

[4] According to Tačeva 2006, Mētokos and Amatokos I were two distinct successive kings, the second of them reigning from <391.

[5] A brief inscription names a "Hebryzelmis (son) of Seuthēs," but whether it refers to this Hebryzelmis is unclear. Kojčev 2008 identifies a second king Hebryzelmis (*c*.360–357), a predecessor of Dēmētrios and Philēmōn, whom he places in *c*.346–340; Topalov 2001 connects the last two with Kotys I and Kersobleptēs.

[6] Following Topalov 1994; or possibly son of Seuthēs II (e.g., Beševliev 1965, Archibald 1998). The only explicit evidence supposedly making Kotys I the son of a Seuthēs is the Athenian inscription honoring Rēboulas, brother of Kotys and son of Seuthēs from 331/330. The Seuthēs in question is variously identified with Seuthēs I (e.g., Delev 1997, Topalov 2004) or Seuthēs II (Höck 1891), or Seuthēs III (e.g., Tačeva 2006). The placement of Kotys I within the Sparatokos branch of the dynasty (Topalov 1994) is persuasive.

[7] Or possibly of Amatokos I.

[8] Known only from the Athenian inscription honoring Rēboulas, brother of Kotys and son of Seuthēs from 331/330, this Kotys has been made a son of Seuthēs I, II, or III. Seuthēs III's wife Berenikē and her four sons (not including any Kotys or Rēboulas) made a treaty with Spartokos of Kabylē and Epimenēs; other dynasts in the first half of the 3rd century BC included Spartokos' possible son and successor Skostokos and Adaios. Kotys and Rēboulas may have been born of an earlier marriage of Seuthēs III (e.g., Tačeva 2006) or may be the sons of a different Seuthēs, e.g., Kersobleptēs' *hyparkhos* (and brother?) Seuthēs (compare Beloch 1923: 90-91).

[9] Following Topalov 2001: 272-278, who dissociates him from Kersobleptēs' *hyparkhos* Seuthēs; the reign may have begun as early as <331/330 (if Kotys II and Rēboulas are sons of Seuthēs III) and ended as late as 297<.

<276/267<	Kotys III ... son of Raizdos (= Roigos?) [11]
<*c.*255<	Tērēs IV [12] ... son of (?) Kotys III
	Seuthēs IV [13] ... son of (?) Tērēs IV
<184<	Amatokos III ... son of (?) Seuthēs IV
<171–167<	Kotys IV ... son of Seuthēs IV [14]
<148<	Tērēs VI ... son of (?) Amatokos III
<*c.*146?<	Bithys (Byzēs?) [15] ... son of Kotys IV
	Kotys V ... son of (?) Bithys
<87–79<	Sadalas I ... son of Kotys V
<57–48	Kotys VI ... son of Sadalas I
48–31	Sadalas II ... son of Kotys VI [16]
	(to the Sapaean kings of Thrace 31 BC)

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[10] Attested as the father of Kotys III, it is uncertain whether Raizdos reigned as king, unless identical to Roigos, for which see Kabakčiev 1998 and Topalov 2001. Roigos, son of Seuthēs, was buried in the Kazanlăk Tomb; his father is usually identified as Seuthēs III (e.g., Kojčev 2008: 128-130), but if the initial approximate dating of Roigos' burial to the mid-3rd century BC is correct, his father might be a distinct Seuthēs.

[11] It is not certain whether a certain Raiskouporis, son of Kotys, reigned as sole king, or that he and his father belong in the 3rd century BC. The coin type inscribed for Raiskouporis on one side and Kotys on the other has now been associated with the Sapaean kings Raiskouporis II and his nephew Kotys III, reigning simultaneously in AD 12–18: Dzanev 2008. Manov 2015 has argued that the Raiskouporis and Kotys mentioned on a decree from Apollōnia should be associated with the same rulers, but this would contradict the decree's text, which has "Raiskouporis son of *basileus* Kotys." If these do belong later, they could be identified with Sapaean royals.

[12] Possibly distinct from Tērēs, a son of Seuthēs III by Berenikē (Seuthopolis inscription, early 3rd century BC), and Tērēs, father of Seusas (Seuthēs?) (signet ring from Dalakova Mogila, probably early 4th century BC, which would allow identifying that Tērēs with Tērēs II: Kojčev 2008: 134-137).

[13] It is not completely certain whether he reigned as king; attested as the father of Kotys IV.

[14] Delev 2016 (and elsewhere) has questioned the survival of an actual Odrysian kingship in this period despite the wording of the sources and has suggested that Kotys IV and V were Sapaean kings.

[15] It is uncertain whether Bithys (the same name is also found as "Beithys") reigned as king, unless he is identical with the Thracian ruler Byzēs, who betrayed the Macedonian rebel Andriskos in *c.*146.

[16] Following Delev 2016, who demonstrates that Brutus did not take the lands of any childless Thracian king Sadalas in 43 (the text referring to lands formerly owned by Attalos III of Pergamon, who was indeed childless and had bequeathed his lands to Rome), that Sadalas II and III, hitherto considered distinct, were one and the same, that he was probably dispossessed by Augustus for his support of Antonius in 31, and that the Kotys who honored his parents Sadalas and Polemokrateia was probably Kotys VI. A popular reconstruction by (e.g.) Dessau 1913, Mihajlov 1972, Sullivan 1990, posited two Sadalas, father (II, 48–42) and son (III, 42–31), the latter's supposed son by Polemokrateia, Kotys VII (31–18), and his son Raiskouporis (18–11), killed by the rebel Bessi and succeeded by his maternal uncle, the Sapaean Roimētalkēs I. Tačeva 1997 had assumed that the Astaean line ended with Sadalas II in 42, and that Kotys VII was the son of the Sapaean Raiskouporis I, producing a very problematic alternative genealogy for the Sapaean dynasty, which also contradicts much of the evidence. Tačeva and Delev dissociate Brutus' Polemokrateia from the like-named mother of a king Kotys.

Sapaean kings of Thrace (Sapaioi)

Kotys I ... son of (?) Roimētalkēs [17]

<48–42< Raiskouporis I ... son of Kotys I

<31< Kotys II ... son of Raiskouporis I

<19–11 Raiskouporis II ... son of Kotys, son of Kotys II [18]

11 BC–AD 12 Roimētalkēs I [19] ... son of Kotys II; all Thrace 11 BC

12–19 Raiskouporis III ... son of Kotys II; deposed, died 19?

& 12–18 Kotys III ... son of Roimētalkēs I

19–38 Roimētalkēs II ... son of Raiskouporis III by daughter of Roimētalkēs I; married his cousin Pythodōris, daughter of Kotys III by Tryphaina of Pontus

38–46 Roimētalkēs III ... son of Kotys III by Tryphaina of Pontus

(Roman province of Thracia 46)

Macedonian kings controlling parts of southern and eastern Thrace

Argead House of Macedon

341–336 Philippos II ... son of Amyntas III of Macedon; Macedon 359–336

336–323 Alexandros III, *Megas* ... son of Philippos II; also Macedon

323–317 Philippos III [20] ... son of Philippos II; also Macedon

& 323–309 Alexandros IV ... posthumous son of Alexandros III; also Macedon [21]

House of Lysimakhos

309–281 Lysimakhos ... son of Agathoklēs; *stratēgos* of Thrace from 323, *basileus* 304; Macedon 285–281

House of Seleukos

281 Seleukos I Nikatōr ... son of Antiokhos; governor of Babylonia 321–315, and 311; *basileus* 304

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[17] The evidence for this Sapaean Kotys I is actually very slight, especially as the epigraphically attested "King Raiskouporis son of Kotys" could be identified with Raiskouporis II or Raiskouporis III. Earlier Sapaean kings included Abroupolis in *c.*179 and possibly Roimētalkēs and Abroupolis in *c.*80.

[18] The arrangement follows Delev 2016 in ending the Astaean line with Sadalas II in 31 and making a probably non-reigning Kotys the brother (rather than sister's husband) of Roimētalkēs I and Raiskouporis III, all of them sons of the Sapaean Kotys II. The popular reconstruction by (e.g.) Dessau 1913, Mihajlov 1972, Sullivan 1990, assumed that the Astaean Sadalas II was succeeded by his sons Sadalas III and Kotys VII, and the latter by his son Raiskouporis, killed by the Bessi in 11 and succeeded by his maternal uncle, the Sapaean Roimētalkēs I. Tačeva 1997 assumed that the Astaean line of kings ended with Sadalas II in 42 and identified the supposed Astaean Kotys VII with the Sapaean Kotys II, son of the Sapaean Raiskouporis I; she made this Kotys VII=II brother of Roimētalkēs I and Raiskouporis III, and father of the Raiskouporis who died in 11, also making the latter the father of Roimētalkēs II. This contradicts the evidence.

[19] Gaius Iulius (Gaios Ioulios) as Roman citizen, a name inherited by his successors. Retrospectively referred to as king of Thrace in the context of his presence at the battle of Actium in 31 BC.

[20] Originally named Arridaios.

[21] The murder of Alexandros IV was kept secret until 306, when several governors declared themselves kings.

House of Ptolemaios

281–279 Ptolemaios II, *Keraunos* ... son of Ptolemaios I of Egypt; also Macedon

House of Seleukos

279–261 Antiokhos I Sōtēr ... son of Seleukos I; Syria and the East 281–261

261–246 Antiokhos II Theos ... son of Antiokhos I; also Syria and the East

246–245< Seleukos II Kallinikos ... son of Antiokhos II; deposed; Syria and the East 246–226

House of Ptolemaios

<243–222 Ptolemaios III Euergetēs ... son of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos of Egypt by Arsinoē I, daughter of Lysimakhos; Egypt 246–222

222–204 Ptolemaios IV Philopatōr ... son of Ptolemaios III; also Egypt

House of Antigonos

204–197 Philippos V ... son of Dēmētrios II of Macedon; deposed; Macedon 229/221–179

House of Seleukos

196–188 Antiokhos III Megas ... son of Seleukos II; deposed; Syria and the East 223–187

House of Attalos

188–158 Eumenēs II Sōtēr Euergetēs ... son of Attalos I Sōtēr of Pergamon; Pergamon 197–158

158–139 Attalos II Philadelphos Euergetēs ... brother of Eumenēs II; associated 160

139–133 Attalos III Philomētōr Euergetēs ... son of Eumenēs II

(to Rome 133)

Celtic/Gallic kings in Thrace at Tylis/Tylē [22]

277–*c*.275 Komontorios ... leader of the Celts after the battle of Lysimakheia

c.275–*c*.255 Orsoaltios ... son of (?) Komontorios

c.255–*c*.235 Kersibaulos ... son of (?) Orsoaltios

c.235–212 Kauaros ... son of (?) Kersibaulos

(to the Odrysian-Astaean kings of Thrace 212?)

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[22] Tylis/Tylē has been tentatively identified with the Justinianic fortress Touleous, itself possibly to be located at Nikolaevo 40 km east of Seuthopolis and 60 km west of Kabylē. Evidence of Celtic settlement in Thrace is found both in the area north of the Hebros (Marica) near Philippoupolis (Plovdiv) and in an area west of Odēssos (Varna). Orsoaltios and Kersibaulos (order and relationship uncertain) are conjecturally identified as Celtic kings based on comparisons between their coinage and that of Kauaros, but the name Kersibaulos might be Thracian (compare Kersobleptēs).

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